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The French Peace Banquet of the 22d of February.

The annual peace banquet of the peace workers of France has come to be each year one of the important European peace events. This year it seems to have been unusually brilliant and important. It was held in the Hotel Ronceray, and presided over by Mr. Painlevé, a member of the Institute of France and a representative of Paris in the Chamber of Deputies. Many prominent Senators and Deputies were present, and also distinguished pacifists like Dr. Charles Richet, Lucien Le Foyer, Emile Arnaud, Mr. Gaston Moch, Mlle. Julie Toussaint, Mme. Camille Flammarion, Marie Cheliga, and others. Among the company were also distinguished jurists, professors of the Sorbonne, etc. Nearly all of the leading French daily papers were represented.

After reading a number of letters from absent friends of the cause, Mr. Lucien Le Foyer, former member of the Chamber of Deputies and general secretary of the French National Peace Council (*Délégation Permanente*), presented the following letter from Mr. Frédéric Passy, who was kept away from the banquet by his great age and also because of a cruel affliction which had just fallen upon him:

"My dear friends: Still another meeting on the 22d of February which I shall not be able to attend. I do not dare to call it a banquet, for it seems to me that this evening will not bear the same character as preceding ones.

"But I want at least to send you my remembrances, my encouragement, and my good wishes.

"We have had the past year cruel disappointments and painful anxieties. At more than one point of the globe blood has flowed freely. A great nation, a friendly nation, one which first set an example of the most absolute confidence in recourse to arbitration, has engaged in war, refusing in advance all negotiations with a view to peace. And Europe, official Europe, bound together by so many congresses, treaties, and conferences, has seemed to look indifferently upon this act of violence. It has been said, you know—and there has even been rejoicing over it—that this was the failure of pacifism, and anew the merits of war have been celebrated as the regenerator and educator of nations.

"We have not accepted, and we do not accept, this condemnation. We have appealed, and we still appeal, from the failures and horrors of the present to the lessons—perhaps too hard—of a near future, and already over all parts of Europe the revolt of conscience and of interest is manifesting itself. Already in Italy itself, as formerly in England during the Boer war, it has begun to be perceived that an enterprise has been entered upon whose difficulties and burdens have not been measured, and that it would have been far better to reserve for the redemption of the unhealthy and uncultivated parts of the national territory and for the welfare of their populations, which are in need of work, bread, and education, the hundreds and hundreds of millions

which have been wrested from the toiling masses of the rest of the nation.

"But let us not lose courage, dear friends, and let us continue our propaganda with growing energy. Let us without animosity toward anybody, with entire equity and benevolence, continue to preach to all justice, wisdom, moderation, peace, which only are truly constructive and truly glorious. In this spirit I ask of you to drink once more to the triumph of a policy of frankness, straightforwardness, and mutual respect, and to the reconciliation of those whom their interests, wrongly conceived, continue to divide."

Baron d'Estournelles de Constant, who was kept away from the banquet by his senatorial duties, sent the following letter:

"My dear Secretary General: Retained in my department, where my compatriots give evidence of a rare self-abnegation in considering my frequent absences and my long journeys abroad as acts of real patriotism, I am obliged to devote tomorrow evening to them and to renounce the satisfaction which I had promised myself in attending your 22d of February manifestation. I was expecting, as I have already told you, to be one of your number this year not only for the pleasure of meeting friends, but also in order to protest with them against the pessimism of the present order.

"It is the fashion today, as it was ten years ago, to look for war tomorrow; 'war when spring comes'—that is the favorite expression. Nevertheless, I believe less than ever in the inevitable war. I believe, on the contrary, that we shall avoid it because the people do not wish it, and because the governments have everything to lose by it.

"The cause of arbitration has made in all countries, and especially in Germany, un hoped-for progress. France, Great Britain, and the United States of America are getting together in an organization, the example of which, given by three great military powers, will be sufficient to spread the contagion of it to all the others.

"It is true that Italy and Turkey are engaged in open war. We have deplored this fact, and we have without cessation demanded the application of the Hague conventions—the offer of the good offices of one or more powers, friends of the belligerents, in the interest of all. But this very war, because of the complications which it may bring about any day, is proving indirectly a support to our propaganda. There is not a man engaged in international commerce nor a traveler who is not saying to himself: 'If this little war limited to Tripoli is for the neutral powers themselves such a danger, what would it be if there were a real war, the character of which we have difficulty in conceiving, between two great peoples equally armed, equipped, and sustained by their allies?'

"I said recently in the Senate, and I should like to have said it again tomorrow evening: 'He who would let loose such a war would probably never see the end of it.'

"Let us then have confidence, dear friends, in the irresistible triumph in the future of our ideas."

After letters of regret and sympathy were read from many distinguished men who were absent—among whom were Mr. Emile Labiche, president of the French Group of the Interparliamentary Union; Senator Batut, vice-

president of the Group; Mr. Yves Guyot, former Minister; Mr. Ferdinand Buisson, member of the Chamber of Deputies—Mr. Painlevé, the toastmaster, spoke as follows:

"Allow me to extend to you my best thanks for the honor which you have done me in inviting me to preside at this festival. I have followed for many years with the warmest sympathy your work of influencing public opinion. You have had the courage not only to brave rude hostilities, but still more to endure mockeries, which is even more heroic. And at this very moment you are not allowing yourselves to be discouraged by those who say to you, 'You are out of date; pacifism is no longer in fashion. The last was heard of it five years ago.' It must be recognized that certain painful events are of a nature to trouble us, but has any one of us ever believed that a few years spent in spreading our ideas over the world would be sufficient to put an end to the era of violence? We are neither simpletons nor children, and we know very well that our work must be pursued for a long time in order to be productive.

"Yes, it is true we saw in the month of September last a strained condition which seemed on the point of becoming tragic. It was said that France was experiencing a serious check, but, thank God, the dreaded explosion did not take place. On the other hand, we must regret profoundly the war which has broken out between two great peoples—on the one side, a people long oppressed by tyranny, which have made desperate efforts to establish for themselves a more modern civilization, and, on the other, a people about whom we have the feeling that it is as it were a nurse of our civilization, toward whom we turn whenever we dream of the far past of western civilization. Though the conflict which has taken place between these two peoples has been painful to observe, we have the hope that the bloodshed will not continue to flow for long nor in vain, and that arbitration, which was not tried before the rupture of negotiations, will nevertheless ultimately make its voice heard and impose silence on the war.

"Allow me to express my optimistic feeling. I do not think there is in all these things, however painful they may be, anything to produce despair. In particular, during this very period of nervous strain which our country has passed through, I do not think there was for the pacifists any ground for alarm and for dreading a final catastrophe; for if a people proud of its strong armaments wishes to humiliate another people, and if this other people is powerful and disposed to resist with all its might, the chances of war, far from being increased, are diminished. I, who am a pacifist, hold that wars do not come from the strength of the two powers, but from the feebleness of one of them. A little while ago, in the chamber itself, a deputy accosted me and said: 'Now, you are to preside over the peace banquet this evening, and yet you recommend to us to vote for the naval program, which is considered a minimum! What a contradiction!' But no, there is, in my judgment, no contradiction between my love of peace and justice and the opinion which I have been expressing in all sincerity in regard to the naval program. One of the most certain causes of war is great difference between the forces of the two parties in presence. And if we are one day to arrest this mad race

of armaments, if a day is bound to come when we shall be glad to consecrate to works of peace these millions and millions sacrificed to the implements of war (of which the best that one can hope is that they will remain useless), it will be, without doubt, let us say frankly, either after a great war—a hypothesis which I will not allow myself to imagine—or after a crisis which in some sort will have rendered imminent all the horrors of a fratricidal struggle between nations of about equal strength. It is at this period of dangerous tension that you will do a serious service by giving counsels of wisdom and firmness and by showing that love of peace has nothing in common with cowardice. It is due to such men as you, to the profound feeling of the interest of Europe and of the world, with which you are penetrated, to that spirit of justice which animates you, to that clear vision which gives you to see on the other side of the frontier men who must be loved, brave men like you; it is due to the nobleness and the boldness of your ideal; it is due, I say, to these things that we can look without fear upon all of these hours of diplomatic tension. When men have in some sort felt pass over their necks the breath of devastation and slaughter, they will say, 'What is the use of being the stronger? why continue these armaments which bear so heavily on the people and render life more difficult each day?' And instead of regarding each other craftily, like men who have evil designs on each other, and keep their fingers upon their weapons under their cloaks, the people will regard each other loyally and will let fall the weapons which have so long been brandished with a menacing sound. Then we shall know the era of confidence, whose benefits will be spread over the world, which will bring no humiliation to anybody, and which will assure the prosperity of all the nations by safeguarding that which is great and strong in all."

After some interesting remarks by Senator Suleiman-ul-Bustany, president of the Ottoman Group of the Interparliamentary Union, who was at that time in Paris, in which, after expressing his sympathy with the Italian pacifists present and with those of France, he declared his confidence in the inevitable triumph of justice, Sir Thomas Barclay, former president of the British Chamber of Commerce in Paris, was introduced and spoke as follows:

"I am not a stranger to you. I feel myself entirely at home in your midst, although we have not met for three years. I have not abandoned the cause of peace; far from it. I believe that it was never in a more flourishing condition, in spite of appearances. Mr. Passy has told us that people talk of the failure of pacifism because a war has broken out. It would be asking very much of us to require us to abolish war at one stroke. We have never dared to hope that it would be abolished in our generation, and I do not know in what generation it can be abolished. But what do we see in this Italian-Turkish war? Is it not encouraging to know that public opinion has unanimously declared itself in favor of the respect of law, that it protests against the war, and thus demonstrates that it cannot be deceived today by smooth words. Public opinion is indicating to the governments that they ought not to break their engagements. That is something gained.

"If we examine the results which wars leave behind them, there is no ground for despair. Look at the recent wars. That of 1870 served to point out the danger there was in imposing upon the conquered conditions which are never forgiven. That between the United States and Spain was ended by a definitive treaty of peace couched in such terms that today no Spaniard says a word against the Americans. The independence of Cuba insured by this treaty has been a veritable blessing to Spain. Likewise England, after the South African war, did not impose a humiliating peace, but has guaranteed to the Boers the very independence for which they had been fighting. Finally, the Japanese did not demand a war indemnity from Russia, and the Russians and the Japanese have become friends.

"The results of a war are therefore no more as ruinous as they were formerly, but they always remain difficult to calculate. It is therefore better to avoid them, as two great nations armed to the teeth have just done. The equality of their arms, assured still further by an *entente cordiale*, has induced them to accept wisely a pacific solution of their difficulties.

"Let us appreciate still further one of the benefits which pacific agreements procure for peoples. These agreements replace in part armaments. The Anglo-Japanese alliance has allowed England to withdraw half its fleet from the far East. And likewise England saves half of her fleet in the Mediterranean because of her good relations with the United States. If she had also good relations with Germany, she might perhaps sell three-quarters of her Portsmouth fleet to the states who might have need of them. All this, then, is not the failure of pacifism. But in spite of all my respect for the governments and their policies, I am compelled to note that the governments and their policies have done nothing to assure the peace of the world. It is the people alone who can create peace by creating an atmosphere of peace, as we are doing here at this moment, and as the German people have done in the recent elections, after which the great sovereign invited the English Minister, Lord Haldane, to come and confer with him on the Anglo-German situation. Lord Haldane and the German Emperor recognized that there was in reality no reason for hostility or distrust between the two nations. What needed to be done was simply to create a different atmosphere in the two countries. Furthermore, the Anglo-German *entente* will not destroy the equilibrium of Europe, which depends primarily on the geographical situation of the countries. Belgium, France, Portugal, and Spain are destined by force of circumstances to remain together. England and France did not love each other fifteen years ago, but today a Frenchman in England is almost glorified, and in France I am not aware that the English are unpopular. We are not only good neighbors, but good friends, and that is notably due to the peace societies. Let us continue, therefore, with courage and confidence our propaganda in favor of the peace of the world."

After brief addresses by General Pedoya, who declared war to be a crime against humanity; by Paul Meunier, a member of the French Parliament, who declared that one may love his country without being

obliged to hate the country of others, and Mr. Gaston Moch, who believed that a general European war was for economic reasons impossible, Dr. Charles Richet, the eminent scientist and professor in the university, spoke as follows:

"I think our first utterance here should be a word of recognition and of affection for our venerated leader, Mr. Frederic Passy. Perhaps some of you, on learning of the great grief which has just befallen him, have remembered the word for which we are indebted to him: 'War is a period when fathers bury their children.' Alas! fate has ordered that our dear leader who has so strongly opposed war, should experience especially those griefs which it inflicts. But in spite of this he persists in his incomparable optimism which has constituted the honor of his whole life. In spite of private and public griefs, Mr. Frederic Passy persists in believing that this world is not bad and that it is moving on toward a better ideal, a little after the manner, as an illustrious Englishman once said in speaking of progress, of a drunken man who, on returning to his home, blubbers, beats the wall, stumbles about here and there without seeming to know what he is doing, but at last all the same gets into his house. Thus we are going on toward a world less barbarous than the world of yesterday or that of today.

"If we examine affairs, the affairs of today, what do we see? I shall not indulge in politics, but call attention to the fact that this Franco-German treaty, of which there has been so much talk, contains excellent provisions. In the first place, it has prevented a great and formidable war which would have turned progress back 30 to 50 years. Then, thanks to it, an important part of Africa, more or less barbarous, is going to be acquired for French civilization. Finally, it has brought this other step of progress—if new disputes between France and Germany come, they will be submitted to the Hague court. That is fundamental in this treaty.

"But let us also take this miserable war between Turkey and Italy, a war which desolates us, because we are in part sons of Italy, who was our mother from the point of view of civilization. It is distressing to us to see Italy and Turkey give themselves up to an iniquitous war; certainly it is. But we see also that by the force of circumstances this war which might have extended itself widely, is fortunately limited under the influence of European public opinion, for Europe has spoken and is still speaking; it says to Turkey and Italy, 'You shall go no further, and thus we have limited the war to such a point that it is not a veritable war, which Europe will not permit.'

"One thing more. Seeing the extraordinary development which this new and powerful arm, aviation, has taken on, many of our friends have become frightened. They have said to themselves, 'What a misfortune! did we not already have enough with the ironclads, the torpedo boats and submarines, and all the amazing instruments made by men for the destruction of one another?' And now we have the torpedo boats of the upper air, if I may so speak, which will probably spread conflagration and destruction in innocent villages. And people have said that this is the end of civilization. We are going to reach a state more barbarous still, since other means of barbarism have been invented.

"Now I think this is an error. In 1890, when I put in motion some timid little flying machines, I imagined that this was going to be a great means of civilization. I thought that this would put an end to that organic infirmity which confines us to the soil and stops us at every instant, for mountains and precipices. I thought this mechanical device would surely suppress custom-houses, that relic of barbarism which we still carry with us. I said to myself that we would see a new era.

"Well, I do not find that events have belied my expectations; perhaps they have in appearances, but it is clear that the people who should be strong would be unfortunate in neglecting an element of strength, as if the first law were not to defend oneself against the attacks of adversaries. It is necessary to be strong, and the pacifists have never said the contrary. Consequently if we can be strong by means of flying machines, we must make ourselves so by this means. As we have said in a petition, 'Justice first, disarmament afterwards.' We must therefore redouble our efforts in favor of aviation, but with this fundamental idea, that the new instruments will become instruments of peace. It is clear and inevitable that we are going on toward peace, toward the union of men, toward science which has realized these instruments. And since we have the honor to be presided over by a great savant, like our friend Mr. Painlevé, I propose that we render homage to science which unites men and leads them forward to the peace of humanity."

American Unitarians Create a Committee on International Arbitration.

The American Unitarian Association's Department of Social and Public Service has created a committee on international arbitration, consisting of Edwin D. Mead, chairman; Samuel Bowles, Edwin Ginn, Rev. Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Dr. David Starr Jordan, Hon. William Kent, Mrs. Anna Garlin Spencer, and Frank F. Williams. The purpose of this committee is to promote among all the congregations of the denomination regular and careful attention to international duties. The committee has sent out the following circular note to the Unitarian churches of the country:

"The General Unitarian Conference, at its last meeting in Washington, unanimously adopted a resolution in which, emphasizing the fact that one of the chief messages of Christianity to the world is 'Peace on earth, goodwill to men,' and one of the chief duties of every Christian church to work for that great consummation, its members pledged themselves to create a committee in each church to support the President of the United States in his efforts for the ratification of the arbitration treaties with Great Britain and France. There should be such a committee on international relations in every church, not simply called into existence for a special exigency, but dealing regularly with the manifold and imperative interests which affect the fraternity and co-operation of peoples. Dr. Hale well declared that every church today should have among its regular committees a Committee on International Justice to keep these high interests carefully and intelli-

gently before the congregation. Where a church has a permanent social service committee, this may well take on the functions of a committee on international relations or international justice.

"The Committee on International Arbitration of our Department of Social and Public Service urges every church to active and systematic work for the promotion of international good understanding and good will; it desires to co-operate with the churches in every way in its power; and it urges the churches to co-operate earnestly with the various peace organizations, especially the local organizations in their own neighborhood, by strengthening their membership and supplementing their efforts. It asks that the interests of the peace cause and of world organization may have serious attention in conferences and public meetings; that the churches, especially their international or social service committees, may ally themselves with teachers and the schools to promote among the young true sentiments of international brotherhood; and that they may work with the libraries and the newspapers of their respective places to bring the best international literature to the attention of the people. Correspondence will be welcomed by any members of this committee and by the secretary of the Department of Social and Public Service, 25 Beacon street, Boston. The World Peace Foundation (29a Beacon street, Boston) and the Association for International Conciliation (Sub-station 84, New York City) will gladly send their pamphlets to all who ask for them; and the American Peace Society (Colorado Building, Washington) and the various State societies always stand ready to assist. The ADVOCATE OF PEACE, the monthly journal of the American Peace Society, should be regularly read in every congregation, to keep its members informed upon current movements and the latest literature.

"It is in the power of the churches, acting together, to advance public opinion and political action in international matters rapidly and decisively. The suffering peoples, paralyzed by wars and rumors of wars and burdened by the monstrous armaments, appeal to the churches by their burdens and their sufferings to bring religion to bear more definitely and practically upon international life, and the churches of our fellowship are peculiarly called by their first principles and their high traditions of past leadership in this commanding cause to resolute leadership today, when it is in their power by strong and well-directed effort to achieve greater results than were ever possible before. The cosmopolitan character of our population and the critical problems imposed by immigration, especially in our great cities and industrial centers, demand of our churches and of every American citizen such study and sympathy and service affecting the relations of various peoples as are demanded nowhere else, and it is for us to do our part to make this nation a true commonwealth and a faithful and inspiring member of the family of nations."

The new Mexican Ambassador at Washington, Señor Calero, says: "There is no Japanese question in Mexico. This talk about the Japanese and Magdalena Bay is ridiculous. It is absurd that you Americans should be exercised about the granting of a *private fishing concession* to Japan. Such concessions are held by the English and others."